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Pre-
* 556 mostly the guests assemble, those who are *xaxa* wearing on
[575] their heads one or more weasel skins as a mark of membership
237 in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled,
293 the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners,
[554] slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The
heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant
exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the af-
fair. [203] It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by
the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to
his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In
some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but
as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is
sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to under-
take the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial
gain.

264 A number of young lads, friends or relatives of X, distribute
* 556 the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called
[883] upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no
standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with
whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests;
[578] otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in
this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first
course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food
in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a
fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more
he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who
gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its
583 reward.

* 556 Next, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a
[537] fluent friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech,
extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general
425 outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that
[424] X's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may
[532] be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with
the shape of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with
certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly
bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral
name.

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bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name. The speaker always recounts the whole myth before announcing which portion of it is transmitted to X as a prerogative. It is understood that this transference will be duly validated by presents to X when he gives his potlatch. Such are termed *dzämänumtwm* and signify the repurchase of a wife from her husband. Though this is known to be a fiction it has extreme social importance. Unless *dzämänumtwm* is paid there is an ineradicable blot upon the children; in fact, it is one of the essentials of a legal marriage. All prerogatives thus transferred on *xläetwm* become the property of X and will in time pass to his children, unless recalled to the wife's family by further repurchase (*dzämänumtwm*) money or goods. In this fashion elements of family myths become scattered, and one of the considerations in choosing a wife is to select a woman able to bring back some missing part of the husband's myth.

The usual present is an ancestral name, which X henceforth uses as potlatches as his most distinguished title, though the myth in which it is incorporated does not belong to him. As long as the name remains in X's family those who originally owned it are unable to make use of it. Such a name is said to be "dragged across" by the wife to her husband, the immense weight or importance of the designation being compared with the dragging of a heavy log. Occasionally, the father of a married woman, animated by the kindliest feelings towards his son-in-law, may give him outright a myth with all the names embodied therein. This can happen only where there are no other survivors of the family. In such a case when the myth is recounted it must always be mentioned how it has been obtained. The number and type of the prerogatives transferred depend upon the sentiments with which his wife's family regard X. If, in addition to being a worthy man, he is member of their ancestral family, or of one with which his wife's has frequently intermarried, so that in course of generations prerogatives have intermingled, there is less objection to giving him such rights than if he were an unrelated individual.

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A man may receive so many prerogatives with regard to house painting that he has to continue the designs on the sides of his dwelling, or he may receive so many figures for a totem-pole that he can erect one of composite pattern. X may acquire prerogatives not only from his father-in-law, but from his mother-in-law, and if he is the husband of several wives, the family of each may contribute something. If, for some inexplicable reason, X is not given any prerogative from the family of his wife, he uses one of his own ancestral myths with the names belonging thereto. A man who gives many potlatches can choose to validate numerous family names for himself, or to concentrate on one alone, elevating it to a position of great importance. But any names he validates must belong to his family; it is contrary to custom for a Bella Coola to steal a name to which he has no right.

At this, or some other suitable time, X prays for assistance in the complicated rites that are to follow. Taking four pieces of pounded and dyed cedar-bark, and four pieces of undyed bark, he places on each a small quantity of food and throws the eight into the fire. Likewise he may throw in four small pieces of any kind of goods. As he does so he appeals to the supreme god:

"Please strengthen my spirit for the many duties which are before me."

Instead of praying himself, X may ask a shaman to do so for him, in the belief that the latter's supplication will be more efficacious.

The necessity for supernatural assistance lies in the fact that any serious error or disaster in the performance of potlatch rites calls for summary punishment, since X has allowed ceremonial *secret* knowledge to reach the uninitiated. In such a case the duty of meting out a penalty falls upon the members of a foreign tribe. Nothing is said at the time, but the departing guests take away with them information of what has happened. Great latitude is allowed as to who shall be the chastisers. The guests may be related to X and the members

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with a number of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *nusuk* ceremonial. Towards dawn, sounds come from these, and sometimes a dull thump is heard on the roof, as if a heavy being had landed there. At once there is great excitement within the house. The voices of supernatural people prove them to be at hand. No one is allowed to leave except a *nusuk sibi*[9] who is skilled in dealing with *Mulakila*,[10] also called *Sisiaqtuwam*, the supernatural being closely connected with the *nusuk* ritual. Those within can hear the voice of the *sibi* raised as if he were speaking to someone at a distance.

"Chief, you have come too early," he says. "The house is not yet ready. Please return later."

He is answered by loud whistling, which grows fainter, as if the being who made it were moving away. In reality the young men are merely blowing less forcibly into the whistles.

[9]The accounts of all informants agree that much of the *nusuk* ritual was newly imported into Bella Coola from Bella Bella. According to some statements, *Palkus*, a Bella Coola chief who died between 1870 and 1880, married a Bella Bella wife, also one from Rivers Inlet, and it was these two women who brought with them an almost certain *nusuk* prerogatives. It is said that previous to that time the Bella Coola did not understand the use of the large cone-shaped whistles, nor were they able to summon the supernatural beings to the youths secluded in the back-room, nor to dispel the beings at the conclusion of the rites. On the other hand, some Bella Coola claim that their first ancestors brought the whistles with them from the land above. It is probable that the calling in of the supernatural beings is a recent addition to the potlatch, which accounts for the contradictory accounts, but whether or not the whistles are a new feature is more doubtful. It appears certain that the prerogative of *sibi* has recently been obtained from the Bella Bella. *Sibi* means "the one who cures," and the name is given to the man whose prerogative it is to tend the *haxtsa* initiates in whom supernatural powers are located. In Bella Bella there is a similar functionary for *nusuk* matters, known as a *hai'ahkila*. Through intermarriage several Bella Coola have recently obtained this prerogative; in each case it is frankly stated that it has been derived from the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola apply to them, as forenamed, the term *sibi*, as they do for the *haxtsa* "curer," though the Bella Bella name, *hai'ahkila*, is used with equal frequency. The present *sibi* have endeavoured to claim for themselves certain ceremonial functions formerly carried out by any *nusuk*. In this account of a potlatch it is assumed that a *sibi* is functioning on all occasions, but in many cases any senior *nusuk* is considered sufficiently close to the supernatural beings to act satisfactorily. Until about 1870 it is clear that any *nusuk* was regarded as capable of doing so.

[10]Knowledge of this being is said to have been acquired by the marriage of a certain Amoose of Kimsquit to a Bella Bella woman in the beginning of time.

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584 preliminary agreement may have been made while they were only seven or eight years old, though marriage seldom occurs before the age of seventeen or eighteen. More often the agreement is made when X and Y have passed the age of puberty, and they wait for about two years before marrying.

583 Throughout this period, X's relatives are expected to give at
425 least one feast at which Y's relatives are the guests of honour, and always receive presents. At one of these visits X's father,
533 with the concurrence of his relatives, may mark his approval
[584] of the coming event by bestowing on Y's father, or one of her other relations, an ancestral name from his family myth. This does not become the absolute property of Y's family, since the myth in which it is embodied does not belong to them, unless, of course, they are members of the same ancestral family. It is fitting that a name of this kind be bestowed by the recipient on one of Y's children, or returned to X's family a few generations later by a return marriage. If this is not done, in course of time the designation is apt to be regarded by Y's family as their own. If there are no children, Y's relatives should give back the name to X's
[627] family, but there are many instances of feuds caused by failure
[773] to do so. According to mythology, prerogatives may sometimes be given outright, without thought of their use by the resultant children, or of their being restored by return marriages. It is claimed that the people of the Kimsquit River
[648] have, through such a present, the inalienable title to use a certain spot in the Kitlobe River for their oolachen nets, and likewise the Kitlobe people have an irrevocable right to the Kimsquit name *Jiáhmy*. These two prerogatives were transferred at the beginning of time. At present, anyone bestowing outright his family prerogatives would be considered weak-
[378] minded and the other members of the ancestral family would strenuously object. Considerations of this sort make it desirable to seek a wife within the ranks of the ancestral family.

During the period of engagement, Y's family may present a name, or names, to X's father, with the same conditions as those just described.

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ancestry. He may wish to give X one of his ancestral names on this occasion, and if so, an eloquent speaker outlines the myth in which it is embodied, and announces that henceforth it belongs to X. He is called by it for the rest of the ceremony. Occasionally, X will receive several names, perhaps from different myths belonging to the different ancestral families of which Y is a member; or her father may grant X the especial use of some hunting-ground, although with the marriage he naturally has the right to use all belonging to his bride's ancestral family. *Sunaé* rarely, and *kusiut* prerogatives more commonly, may likewise be transmitted at this time, though they are never expounded, since some who are not members of these two societies may be present. X's father may likewise use his *ee-ila* song and follow it by giving an ancient name to Y; if so, the procedure is the same as that just described.

Names transferred by marriage may be given when the engagement is announced, at the actual wedding or, as will be explained later, when the wife is rebought from her husband. A transference from the family of X to the family of Y is made only as a mark of respect and friendly feelings, but a transference in the opposite direction is necessary to establish the children on a firm footing. Accordingly, it is often delayed until after their birth, at a time when Y rebuys herself from her husband. A name bestowed at the wedding itself becomes the legal property of the recipient, but not of his ancestral family, since it cannot be passed on except to a child of X and Y. If there are no children, it is felt that the name has become practically dormant and it can be revived by a member of the donor's ancestral family. Thus it is virtually held in readiness for X's and Y's children, though literally this is not the case, since it belongs, meanwhile, to some individual. A sentiment that enters into a transaction of this kind is that, by the presentation of a name to some member of the family of the other partner, a kindly disposition is shown and confidence that it will be duly honoured by bestowal on the children of the couple. Indeed, some parents do no more than promise that

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585 553 425 if a grandchild be born they will give him a certain name if a boy, and another if a girl, so that henceforth no one can take that title for himself, even though it is not in use. As already mentioned, even when a name has duly passed to one of the children, it can be recalled in future generations by a return marriage. The transmission of names, or the promising of them for children yet unborn, is perhaps the most binding feature of the whole marriage rite. Mythology contains instances in which names, and other prerogatives, have been given away outright. Cases are cited by the Bella Coola where a father has given hunting-grounds as "food" for the use of the relatives of his son- or daughter-in-law, but it is usual merely to promise the use of them to the grandchildren.

581 553 578 425 Since the transference of names, or other prerogatives, is the foundation stone of Bella Coola marriages, it is necessary to digress still further in an attempt to analyse the concepts at the base of the transaction. If the contracting parties are members of different ancestral families, or even of different branches of the same family, there is a feeling of strain and unpleasantness at the intimate relations into which they are brought. There is a conflict of desires. On one hand is the wish to keep the family prerogatives from going afield; on the other, a wish that they should go afield to show the respect felt for the bride or bridegroom. If children result, the matter is simple, since they are equally members of the ancestral families of mother and father and form a bond which draws the two social units into the closest community of interest. Return marriages will then be sought by successive generations, until the prerogatives of the two families become so closely interwoven that a child will, indeed, be born into the ranks of related ancestors from both parents. But when there are no children the matter is complicated, since the recipients of names not uncommonly try to keep them unjustly. They may do so with the best intentions, feeling that it would be a slight to the donors to give them back. Bella Coola etiquette is not sufficiently exact to stipulate what should be done. If the

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name is not returned, the donors may be offended at its being kept; if it is returned, they may be offended that it has not been kept.

The following examples will help to explain this rather complex point.

About 1900 the sister of a man who was middle-aged in 1922 was married to a Bella Coola to whom she was not related. At the wedding, her father being dead, her brother expounded one of the family's origin myths, and she took her husband a name from it. It was said to have been "hauled across," the word used being the same as that signifying the dragging of a heavy timber, suggesting, of course, the importance and dignity of the designation in question. On two later occasions the woman's family gave valuable presents to the man's, thus doing their part to cement the *q!ulan*, the strength which comes to both families by an interchange of presents marking the dignity of marriage, in fact, its basic principle. Unfortunately, there were no children. If the husband had wished to retain these names for his family, he should have arranged a further marriage between one of his own relatives and one of his wife's, to return the value of gifts he had received. He did not do so, and thus lost all legal claim to the designations in question. None the less, he was indignant when his wife's brother duly validated one of these names for himself at a potlatch, as if it had been dormant.

The accompanying diagram-pedigree shows another instance of the same kind. *Smaoan*'s daughter, *Swalkūndi*, was married to *Nīnitsamlaix*, and at the wedding her father promised his name for any offspring. No children were born, but *Nīnitsamlaix* illegally used the designation, *Smaoan*, for King George, his son by another wife. This naturally incensed the relatives of the first *Smaoan*, especially as the debt could not be adjusted by the marriage of one of *Nīnitsamlaix*'s daughters to one of their family, since there were no daughters. To make matters worse, King George passed the name to his son, Jack King George, and again there were no daughters to readjust the debt. Finally, Jack King George married *Qwakūl*, a relative of the first *Smaoan*, without the usual lengthy period of engagement, and while she was still concealed for the year that follows puberty. No children resulted, by which part of the debt could have been repaid. Thus, not only did Jack King George violate the customary ideas of decency, but in the course of three generations two women were obtained from the *Smaoan* family without any recompense. Bitter feelings arose, and a few years ago one of the descendants of the first *Smaoan* took the name for himself at a potlatch as if it had been dormant, thus arousing the ire of Jack King George. In 1915 [682]

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two of his female relatives were murdered at Kimsquit. The slayer was never detected, but most of the Bella Coola believe that it was done by one of *Imaaux*'s relatives, and that the dispute about names was quite sufficient to furnish an excuse for the deed.

It is hoped that these two instances will serve to emphasize why the Bella Coola prefer marriages within the ranks of the ancestral family. When this takes place, names are usually given outright, and not merely promised for the use of the future children.

Imaaux = ♀
|
Nintsamisis = *Snaikgnak* = another woman
|
King George = ♀
|
Jack King George = *Snaikal*

After this digression, to return to the marriage of X and Y: The ceremony is taking place in the house of Y's father, and the parents of each participant have expounded parts of their origin myths, and promised names for the resultant children.

Then Y's relatives give numerous presents to X's family, in each case including those who are associating themselves with the contract. Canoes, slaves, blankets, and other articles of great worth are given; they are said to be "bed covering" for Y. The greater their value, the greater her prestige. Her father asks a fluent chief to address the assemblage, speaking as though he were Y. He says in effect:

"My father, my mother, my brothers, my uncles, and their associates have given me my bed covering."

These presents are the binding feature of the wedding. They are said to lock the girl in her husband's house, and accordingly are sometimes called, "rope fastenings." This is only done when a woman is married for the first time.

Another orator now holds forth on behalf of Y's father:

"What we do today is no small matter. We have done today what was done in former times, and what shall be done in the future."

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old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language.

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *hamats'a*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *nuxalk* names can never be transferred in this manner.

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a

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units given by X's relatives up to the time of the wedding have exceeded in value those which they have received. Later, whenever, and as often as X gives a potlatch, Y's relatives are expected to rebuy her from her husband. Although this is the expression used by the Bella Coola, it has only a ceremonial significance, since Y remains X's wife.

Whenever X intimates that he is going to give a potlatch, Y and her relatives begin to hoard goods irrespective of whether or not children have been born. Their value is unregulated by custom, although the individuals concerned always try to give as much as they can; usually X does not know exactly how much will be provided until their actual delivery. Moreover, this is the occasion most preferred by the relatives of a wife to present to her husband ancestral names or other prerogatives embodied in origin myths. The exact rights of X with respect to such gifts have already been defined so need not be repeated here. Even if Y has taken an ancient name to her husband when she was married, she may bring him another when repurchased. This is an event of even greater importance to a woman than marriage, so no effort is spared to add to the dignity of the occasion.

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On the second night of a potlatch Y's father announces what prerogatives he proposes to grant to X. These may include the right to a certain totem-pole design, the carving of a spoon, a painting for the wall of the house, or any other element embodied in the origin myth. These privileges are displayed by X at the coming potlatch. If, as is usual, Y's father wishes to give his son-in-law an ancestral name, it is announced on this occasion, and is the designation by which X is known during the ceremony. It is always said that such a name is so "heavy," in the sense of "so important" that it must be "dragged across" to her husband by Y. *Kwixa'* names are commonly transferred as presents, but without any public bestowal, and one or two instances are known of the similar acquisition of *ɬɬaok* prerogatives and whistles; it was in this way that *Potlɛs* was able to import *ɬɬaok* ritual from Bella Bella. After announcing the

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556 583 [425] prerogatives he is transmitting, Y's father usually takes the opportunity of stating that he wishes to hunt on X's hunting-grounds, or fish in his fishing-grounds. Permission is never refused, though it is only for the period of the potlatch. Since Y's father is to assist X, it is considered fitting to grant him facilities for obtaining pelts and food.

It is on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch that the goods are delivered. They serve six purposes, which can be described separately, although the Bella Coola usually think of them as being too closely associated for division.

(1) They increase the dignity, influence, and prestige of the donors. This theme needs no further elaboration. When X later gives these presents to his foreign guests, he announces the person from whom he has received them and in this way knowledge of the manner in which Y's relatives have upheld the dignity of the marriage is spread far and wide, to their intense gratification.

(2) They help X to rise to a position of influence in the community by the credit which comes to him from their later distribution. Though a man may acquire goods in various ways, the Bella Coola affirm that without contributions from his wife's relatives no man can become a chief.

(3) They validate the transmission of names, or other prerogatives, taken by Y to her husband. Even presents given [606] directly from father-in-law to son-in-law are always said to have been taken by the daughter to her husband.

[554] (4) Indirectly, they increase the prestige of the children, either born at that time or who may appear later. None of the goods used for repurchasing their mother can actually be used for their benefit, but the whole rite gives them strength to succeed in life. A child whose mother has not been repurchased is said to be unable to walk, as if his legs were powerless; he lacks intelligence, and the ability to prosper. From the [578] petty quarrels of childhood until old age, a person is proud to recall the number of times his mother was rebought, and to thrust this statement in the teeth of those less fortunate.

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will now be the forms of the one who has recently died. As soon as all have taken their places, an eloquent chief whose aid has been requested for the purpose stands up and recounts the donor's ancestral myth in some detail, mentioning the source and meaning of the mourners' marks and the designs of the totem-poles. Then he continues to the effect that the chief will "cry" by relating the history of his ancestors, which is also the history of the journey taken by his kinsman, and that this recital will shore him up. The word used for this, *snaxlänkun*, is the one commonly employed for raising a heavy burden with the aid of a lever. Then the singers begin to beat out the first of the mourning songs, accompanying it with their voices and assisted by as many of the audience as are familiar with words and tune. Every effort is made to make the singing as impressive as possible to add dignity to the recital of the journey taken by the person who is being commemorated. The guests listen attentively and are suitably impressed by the ancestral history of the donor and his family. All the songs that have been prepared are sung in succession in the same manner. The lack of dancing distinguishes this type of ceremony from all others and adds somewhat to its impressiveness.

After the last song is the proper time for validating young relatives of the donor as mourners. One of the miniature totem-poles, which are light enough to be carried in the hands, is brought from the back-room and given to the boy on whom this prerogative is being conferred. An eloquent speaker explains the meanings of the designs so displayed and enough of the family's ancestral history to make clear whence, and how, they were obtained. The singers begin to beat time slowly, and the youth endeavours to keep time with his feet, while he continues to hold the pole.

Meanwhile the donor and his immediate relatives have been arranging the piles of presents with the inevitable counting and re-counting. As at a potlatch, a fluent speaker is commissioned to hold up the objects, state whence they have been obtained,

1 [i.e. - the memorial potlatch - ANALYST]

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to whom they are going, and for what purpose. He says, for example:

"Fifty skins become nothing on the path of *Kâliâkus*."

Everyone knows that this means the expenditure of that amount for the singing of a mourning song in connection with the myth in which *Kâliâkus* appears. Gifts must be given for each song, and it is the desire of the donor that they be of fitting value. So, too, is the validation of professional mourners confirmed. The goods having thus been displayed, a first distribution, called "Tears" with reference to the donor's grief, is made, each guest receiving a gift of the same worth. It is not returnable, being the legalization of the ceremony he has just witnessed. This is followed by donations to the carpenters, the singers, the professional mourners, and all others who have rendered assistance; in essence, these are pay, though they are always referred to as free-will gifts made in gratitude for services rendered. Like the last, they are not returnable. Finally, any goods remaining from the store that has been brought out are given to chiefs and other influential members of the audience. Though not clearly stated, the recipients know that these are really investment-presents; when they reciprocate, they mention that they are repaying a gift made at a memorial potlatch. A plentiful meal is now served, during which several chiefs make complimentary speeches, and the gathering breaks up.

In former times, when features of the ordinary potlatch were banned from a memorial potlatch, the ceremony just described was the central point of the proceedings. It was this public song-recital of the journey taken by his deceased relative which alleviated the donor's sorrow and filled him with pride. A few days after, in the late afternoon, the heralds called back the guests and the songs were sung and re-sung. Miniature totem-poles were not used, nor were professional mourners in evidence; the sole function of the gathering was to provide opportunity for learning the songs. They were repeated until far into the night, when a large meal was served and the guests

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departed. A few days later the same ritual was carried out again, with a similar lavish distribution of food. This was often done at intervals of two or three days for several weeks, depending on how much food the donor was prepared to use. The amount required was so great that the rite was considered, in some ways, more difficult than a potlatch.

As already mentioned, however, it became customary in the last century to incorporate features of the ordinary potlatch into one of a memorial nature. In such cases the first singing of the mourning songs with display of marks by the professional mourners is as just recorded, but there is no recalling of the guests merely to listen once more to the songs. Instead, the ritual differs but slightly from that of an ordinary potlatch as already described (I, p. 182). An occasion is found to conduct the guests to the memorial-posts erected, and to inform them of the significance of the designs depicted. This same practice has been continued since the introduction of tombstones, and the meaning of the writing upon them is interpreted. The entry of the deceased in the form of his crest, and the subsequent use of a copper, is the same as already recorded. This is frequently followed by the singing of a *nasse* mourning song if one of the near relatives owns this prerogative of foreign origin. If so, he walks slowly around the fire in a wide circle, shaking his rattle, and singing, unaccompanied. Most, if not all of these songs, are in the Bella Bella language and the right to use one has in every case been obtained through intermarriage with a member of that tribe. At intervals, heralds call out:

"Listen to the chief's lament."[97]

When presents are distributed to validate the whole ceremony, mention is always made of the different features for which they are given. As at a potlatch, the most important is the return of the dead, but at a memorial potlatch another essential is the display of the memorial-posts. These have been carved, painted, and set up, but are worthless unless validated

[97] There is no reason why this should not take place at a potlatch, but no instances of its performance was noted.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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compensed the tunes used; to the carpenter who had prepared and used the masked figure; to the members of the band, including a payment for their services whenever Dan Nelson's child should die; to a carpenter to erect a fence around the grave; to another to cut the representation of an eagle on a stone to be erected over the grave; to the speakers at the funeral; to the speakers at the rite then taking place; to those who delivered the money; to the youth who, with pencil and paper, assisted in keeping accounts; to the cook, and to all others who had assisted in any manner. In every case the amount was announced, the bill held up, the name of the recipient stated, the reason for his reward, and the money was then taken to him by a messenger. Captain Schooner really decided how much each should receive, he being in the best position to judge what was suitable, and there being no fixed scale of charges to help him. Work paid for in advance, such as the erection of the fence, was carefully carried out.

A little money had been kept to validate the assumption of ancestral names by several children of the Schooner family. Everyone received a small amount, a child sometimes as trifling a sum as 25 cents. Captain Schooner had virtually chosen who was to receive which designation, although he received advice from all his relatives. Harry Schooner's infant was given the name, *Pâtcâtwat*, a reference to the manner in which the first beams of the morning sun strike the lofty summit of Mount *Nusqalst*. Reuben's son was called *alkwaik*, a *Swadis* designation connected with the crash when the first *Sonq*ʷ fell. The myths in which these names were embodied were not expounded; in fact, they had been almost forgotten, even by Captain Schooner. *Tâl'ès* Jenny wished to transmit one of her names to Andy Schooner's infant; this was announced in the same way as the others and validated with them by the gifts to all. Jenny had not contributed to the common stock, but some of it was used with the understanding that she would later repay. Nebuchadnezzar announced the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

769 sum being used for each name, and the bills were displayed
*556 before messengers carried them to the recipients.

Finally, Jim Pollard took the opportunity to bestow on
553 Captain Schooner the name, *Snusilkäls*. This designation
●425 was the property of the donor's ancestral family and should
[614] not have been transmitted without the consent of all its mem-
[622] bers. Jim had probably informed several of them of his intention, but no objections would have been raised if he had overlooked this courtesy, since he is the only *numitl* chief among them, and the only one with determination and prestige. It was not an outright gift, since it was announced that it must be returned to the donor's family on Captain Schooner's death. Jim Pollard acted as his own announcer for this transaction, explaining that he gave the name in gratitude for the help which Captain Schooner had rendered at the death of his, Jim's, father about twenty years before. He promised that at the earliest opportunity he would give presents to validate the transmission.

769 During the lengthy distribution of money, the audience had
*556 shown unmistakable signs of weariness. It was now between 2.00 and 3.00 A.M., and as soon as Jim had finished speaking the guests dispersed quietly, though many of them gathered in groups in one another's houses to discuss what had taken place.

Captain Schooner slept late after the lengthy ceremony, but was proud and contented when interviewed about noon. He felt that what was fitting for his daughter had been performed, and was willing to take the consequences of having broken the law.

768 Little else of note occurred in connection with Jessie's funeral. Samuel King deposited near her grave a sewing-machine which his wife had used for only a short time and Captain Schooner decided to replace this with an older one belonging to his wife. He made this exchange on the afternoon of June 30, when Samuel, in company with a number of women, was burning the rest of Jessie's clothing and possessions. Captain Schooner explained his act by saying:

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

has gone contrary to something about which there has been universal agreement for generations.

To understand Bella Coola medicines it is, therefore, necessary to regard them as concepts deep rooted in tribal history, and made potent by the suggestibility of those who practise them. This can be most clearly illustrated with regard to those effecting death, but is equally true with regard to all medicines, whether curative or causative.

There remain for consideration the sociological aspects of medicines. Knowledge of most remedies has been handed down for generations as the property of ancestral families. Some are acquainted with one or two "cures," some with many, and some with none at all. The name of the discoverer of a particular medicine is usually lost in antiquity, though it is often attributed to someone described in the family's myth. Like other possessions based on mythology, a remedy of this type can be practised by any member of the group to which it belongs. If it is observed that a certain individual is using one of these successfully, others will ask him to apply it for them. Payment is always expected, but the sum varies enormously, depending upon the efficacy of the remedy, the difficulty of operation, the generosity of the person benefited, and so many diverse factors that no general conclusions can be made. A patient may observe the details of the treatment, but unless he is entitled to it, he would never dream of using it himself. This is due not only to honesty, but to the conviction that only a person with the inherited right to a certain cure can perform it successfully. Rarely, such knowledge is sold or given away outright, but, like other possessions of an ancestral family, this usually leads to friction and jealousy on the part of those overlooked. Some of the simple herbal remedies are common knowledge and are used by all, since remembrance of their ownership, if it ever existed, has been lost. At the present time it is difficult to learn details of proprietorship of some medicines, but these are indicated whenever possible.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

functions are to guard the names, and to keep in touch with the patrons. Every uninitiated person believes that if he could only have the good fortune to find a repository, he would obtain the *kusiut* prerogative there localized. *Ano'likwoisaix* travels only during the ceremonial season when she is present at every *kusiut* dance in the form of a woman with a long, thin face and pointed chin (see Plate 13),[4] who "explains" the significance of the figures to the uninitiated in a peculiar high-pitched voice. She is well able to do so since as guardian of repositories she knows the prerogative of each member of the society. Frequently she mocks the uninitiated:

"Ha! Ha! Ha!" she jeers. "You [naming some ambitious youth], you who think yourself so smart, you nearly fell over me that time you walked up in the woods behind the village looking for grouse. If I had been a bear I could have felled you with a blow of my paw. How can you ever hope to become a *kusiut* like your father and grandfather if you are so blind."

His fellows are inclined to join in the laughter at the one singled out for *Ano'likwoisaix*'s scorn, but she flays them all in turn. "She" is, of course, a *kusiut* chosen for fluency and ability to make biting remarks. Parents tell their children that in the autumn, pleased at the sight of falling leaves, *Ano'likwoisaix* bares the roof of her house and sits shaking her fingers like a dancer.

"Go to the woods and look for her," they say. "If she sees you she will say '*tcu*' and beckon to you. Then you will become a *kusiut*."

To further this deception, *kukusiut* are accustomed to disguise themselves as *Ano'likwoisaix* and move around in the autumn forest, taking care that no uninitiated comes too near for safety. An individual may have several *kusiut* prerogatives, and if he wishes to transfer one of these to an associate, the report is circulated that the recipient has stumbled upon the repository of the donor. The latter then acts as if he were crazy, and the uninitiated are told that he is a *nuhaxem*, an

[4] (Apparently Plate 1 is meant) [See category 116, p. 84(A) - ANALYST]

575 778 425 [784] untranslatable word with the significance of "One who has suffered loss through faulty concealment [of his repository]." Some of these vaults are said to be dangerous to the uninitiated who avoid them and in this way the sanctity of some chiefs' meeting-places is guarded.

575 778 776 According to Kimsquit belief, *Awi'ikwulxais* has a husband, *Almaplaikila*, who dwells with her in every repository. If an uninitiated person should chance to find a vault, he falls dead before the power emanating from *Awi'ikwulxais*. Her husband then restores the dead by blowing violently on the back of the victim's neck, accompanying this with cries of *hoip*. When a person is initiated into the *kuxiut* society, the uninitiated hear the songs used, in many of which are references to the experiences of the novice with this supernatural pair.

575 Turning now to the manner in which the *kuxiut* regard their own society, it is evident that the most important duty of each member is to aid in impressing and deceiving the uninitiated. The prestige of the organization depends upon the ability of its members to inspire awe, hence any weakness in fulfilling this obligation is an anti-social act. For this purpose the society acts as a whole. [424] Many *kuxiut* have, for example, Cannibal prerogatives, and on occasion the Cannibals, having the same functions, work together, but they do not form a separate organization of their own.[1] Many of the means employed to deceive and impress the uninitiated have already been described. Mythology records, and it appears to be a [773] fact, that long ago the ascendancy of the *kuxiut* was often [178] challenged by the *a'alk* and other uninitiated, but when the white man came the society had reached a position of such eminence that the powers of its members were unquestioned. Moreover, the combined strength of virtually all the seniors of the tribe was so great that an uninitiated person could not assert himself even if he was suspicious.

[688] Although members of the society exert every effort to con-

[1] The Bella Coola state that such sub-societies are found among the Kwakiutl.

[i.e. a repository of supernatural power— ANALYST]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

575 only by members of the same tribe. The Bella Coola firmly
648 believe that if, for example, there is a serious disaster at
688 *Kimsquit*, that village will be raided by the people of Bella
721 Bella, Fort Rupert, Kitkatla, or by tribes even farther away.
[628] News of the accident reaches *Tăl'is* or Kimsquit and the inhabitants, themselves related by blood to the offenders and therefore unwilling to punish them, call upon the members of a foreign tribe to do so. On different occasions this statement, in practically identical terms, was made by six independent informants, so there appears to be not the slightest doubt as to the belief of the people in this law. But when specific cases were asked for, they could not be obtained. It therefore appears clear that the Bella Coola, probably owing to long teaching on the part of the *ẖaẖaxiut*, consider that an error in ritual is sufficient to bring punishment from an alien tribe. There must be some basis of truth in this conviction, and it is highly probable that the *ẖaẖaxiut* must have taken advantage of raids to explain to the uninitiated that these were caused by disasters in ritual. One informant was of the opinion that, following the collapse of a house at Kimsquit during a Cannibal dance, a Bella Coola chief called upon *Tsuxa*, chief of the Kitkatla, who raided Kimsquit in punishment. Quite apart from the belief inculcated in the uninitiated, it is obvious that tribes eager for war sometimes used an accident as pretext. The Bella Coola know of no case in which they raided a foreign tribe for this reason, although they state that if they had been called upon to act as punisher, they could not have refused.

575 Leaving now the functions of the society as a whole, the
424 rights of an individual member can next be described. Each
425 *ẖaxiut* has:
553

(1) *A Kaxiut Name.* Like every other prerogative, a name in this type can be acquired from father, uncle, grandfather, or other relative, or even by a son from his mother. As a rule a *ẖaxiut* wills his designation or designations, for a man may [556] have several, before death and his wishes are observed. Al-

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a *kusiut* name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *kusiut* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the donor.

(2) *A Patron, omätuts.* Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé perform on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *kukusiut* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform.

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Ăno'likwoltsaix.* An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each.

Although the *kukusiut* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time

Boas-Hollowaith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEG Bellacoola NEG

It is hoped that this somewhat lengthy description will assist the reader in following the complicated details of the actual rites.

Initiation

Although *ẖaxiat* ceremonials take place only during the winter, preliminary arrangements are discussed and carried out throughout the year. One of the subjects over which the old men and the marshals debate at length is the admission of new members. Sometimes the relatives of a young man or woman wish to have him, or her, initiated and propose to use a *ẖaxiat* prerogative dormant in their family. More often an elderly person is willing to transfer one of his prerogatives to a younger relative; comparatively few are unused owing to the small sums needed to validate them. In either case, one of the marshals is consulted. He passes word to his fellows, and to a number of the elderly *ẖaẖaxiat*, who meet in the council-place of the village. The prospective novice's relatives are there and express the belief that he is sufficiently mature in mind to be a credit to the society. If some of those present demur, the matter is discussed at length until all agree, or until it appears that there is strong objection on account of the youth or inconsistency in character of the proposed novice. In this case his relatives can only hope that their proposal will be more favourably received the following year. Sometimes the young man or woman is informed that his relatives have exerted their influence with *Ăne'lĕwulaxix* to make him a *ẖaxiat*, more often he remains in ignorance until the ceremonial season.

The initiation of one admitted under these normal circumstances is the same as for one made a "shaman" on account of too great knowledge. Sometimes the marshals themselves take the first steps. If few *ẖaẖaxiat* wish to give ceremonials so that there are gaps in the nightly performances, the marshals select a suitable slave and ask his owner to give him some *ẖaxiat* prerogative of little value. If the latter agrees, a pretext is found to lure the victim to the woods whence he is carried,

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1933-1934) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[Kwiat Society Initiation]

call is that something strange has happened to the "mortal." At intervals throughout the day he repeats this announcement, and towards nightfall goes around calling:

Skinap, skinap, ẖukusiaat, "Cure, cure, ye members of the *kusiut* society, power has come to the son of the chief [or to the mortal]."

The *ẖukusiut* assemble in X's house, taking their places around the fire; the uninitiated crowd near the doorway. X is seated among his relatives and some of the senior members of the society behind the fire. A herald calls out:

"I want a *sisi* to help X."

In every village there are at least two *ẖukusiut* who have, embodied with their *kusiut* names, the professional prerogative of acting as healer to every novice; it is believed that the ancestor of each obtained a name and this right through a revelation from some supernatural healer. Since that time the owner of the name has been able to insert some of his own ever-present power into a neophyte to enable him to sustain the dangers of admission to the society. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated. The profession of *sisi* can be transmitted by willing like any other prerogative and it occasionally happens that the same individual is *sisi* for both *kusiut* and *nusq*. In answer to the herald's call, the two *sisi* come forward and crouch behind the fire, one on either side of it. Their faces are blackened with soot, and each wears a blanket, decorated with dyed cedar-bark, thrown loosely over his shoulders, leaving the chest and stomach bare except for an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Meanwhile beating sticks are distributed among most of the *ẖukusiut* who strike furiously on the floor with them, without any attempt to keep time; the sole object is to produce the greatest din possible.

One of the *sisi* contorts himself in an amazing manner, presses his hands against his stomach as if to force something from it, and rolls from side to side on his haunches, until at length he produces, as if from his body, a rock crystal (see Plate 3). He waves this to and fro in his hands, then goes

[See category 116, p 84(c) - ANALYST]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

[575 791 796] some ashes which he puts into his mouth and chews. Of course he masticates only the ashes but X, unaware of this, is concerned for the fate of his spirit. At last it is restored to him and he is told that the *siki* has altered it from that of an [774 781] uninitiated person to that of a *kusiut*.* The psychological effect of this act on the mind of a young man who has not had time to adjust himself to his new knowledge and who is firmly convinced of the powers of the *siki* is tremendous.

The first *siki* now instructs two *kuskusiut* sitting on either side of X to lie down to serve as a seat for him. They do so, irrespective of who they may be. If the novice is still ignorant of the full mysteries of the society, the *siki* announces that he is going to get a call for X. He walks around the house, peering here and there as if seeking something, and then pounces as if he had caught an object between his hands. A whistle [534] is heard, such as the novice knows accompanies the coming of every call; but he does not know that the noise is made by compressing a goat or bear bladder-whistle between two sticks held beneath the armpit. This is the "mystery" of the strange noises.

[575 796] "Do you know what makes that noise?" ask the two *kuskusiut* on whom X is sitting.

If X denies all knowledge, the mystery is explained to him, [688] and he is warned that he will be killed if he communicates the information to uninitiated persons. If he answers that he knows the cause, he is asked who has told him. Perhaps some lad has been peeking and has told X of what he has seen; in that case the over-inquisitive youth is at once initiated to prevent further leakage of information. As soon as X has learnt the great secret he moves to one side and the singers take their positions behind the fire. His father, or whoever it [425 553] may be from whom he is to obtain his name, then stands up and unfolds its origin, telling which supernatural being is his patron, and the locality of his repository. X sometimes re-

[178]

*This part of the rite has been omitted for so many years that many of the middle-aged *kuskusiut* have forgotten it.

2:36:Ellsworth E-9 (1922-1924) 1949
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

X sometimes receives two prerogatives at his initiation, one from each parent, or from some other interested relative. In this case both are expounded. The singers listen intently, knowing that they will later be called upon to compose songs on the theme, or themes. According to some informants they immediately sing one, as if they had just created it, though it was really prepared in advance. The *kuk!usiut* listen until they have mastered it.

Helpers now distribute the food provided by X's father, or whoever is responsible for his initiation. At every *kusiut* ceremonial the marshals are the first recipients, then the singers, and finally the others without distinction. As the guests are eating, X's father gives presents to all, without deference to rank. An announcer calls out:

"Here are [for example] ten bear-skins from X's mother. They are to obtain for him his cedar-bark bracelets."

These goods are then distributed. Similarly other gifts from various relatives are handed out for his anklets, his blanket, his collar, his head-dress, and all other parts of his clothing. As each item of his ceremonial costume is validated, X dons the prepared article. A novice's head-dress consists of a round roll of dyed cedar-bark, covering a grass frame; in *Stuie* and the other villages of the upper valley this is decorated with a tuft of swan's down. The *kuk!usiut* of these villages also wear a distinctive decoration consisting of a swan's skin with the feathers attached. In recent years it has been customary to pile all the goods together and distribute them as *dlq'ul*, which has the significance of "something that has vanished for the novice's dyed cedar-bark." Theoretically, the aim of the donor is to bestow his presents on all equally, but if he finds that he has some remaining, he gives these to the chiefs, or to the relatives of someone whom he expects will soon be a novice. None of the goods used in general distributions are returnable, but a chief who receives an extra gift at the end usually remembers from whom it was received and cancels his indebtedness at the earliest opportunity. There is no close connection between the disbursements and the worth of the

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

portion of the grease until it was exhausted; then she ate the container, and when it was finished she was entirely without food. She was very weak, but not unconscious, and the careful husbanding of her provisions had kept her alive into February. It so happened that four Kimsquit men, brothers, were trapping beaver in this particular hunting ground. Followed by his four dogs, one of the brothers went to inspect a shack, which they had previously built at some distance from the place where they were encamped. One of the dogs began to dig in the snow, and soon the other three joined in. The hunter thought it strange that they did not bark as usual when digging for game, and asked the dogs what they were after. To his amazement a voice spoke from below, using the Bella Coola language:

"You will be rewarded if you save me. I am the daughter of *Taxl-cxwam*," it said.

All Kimsquit knew of her fate, so the hunter quickly grasped what had happened. He burrowed a passage down through the snow to the woman, who told him of her effort to return home by the overland route to Kimsquit. The rescuer cut her some firewood and admonished her to be brave, while he dashed off for help. He hurried back to his brothers, told them the news, and then rushed back with a little food, telling them to follow his tracks to where the woman lay and bring with them stone dishes for cooking. By the time the three brothers arrived, the forerunner had replenished the fire, and the woman was sitting up. One of the three was a shaman; he felt her heart and said that she would recover. For one day they camped with the woman, feeding her first with warmed grease of goat and olachen, then with a little food. This revived her sufficiently so that the brothers could carry her on a litter to their camp. For twenty days she was so very weak that one of them had constantly to remain in camp to feed her with bear soup and other nourishing foods, but she gradually regained her strength.

On her account the brothers decided to return home in April, instead of waiting until June as usual. They planned their arrival at Kimsquit to take place at night, and hid the woman in their house, telling only the members of their own family about her. It was June before she had fully recovered from her painful experience. Then she left the home of her rescuers, clad in new clothes which they had given her, and the account of her adventures was made public. A canoe was sent to Bella Coola informing her father of his daughter's safety, and inviting him to fetch her. This he refused to do, but said if her rescuer brought her home he might marry her with his full approval. This was agreeable to her saviour, and a large party of his Kimsquit friends accompanied him to Bella Coola where presents were exchanged and the couple married. As an

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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especial mark of gratitude, the father gave a piece of Bella Coola land to the Kimsquit man. This is one of the few instances known of outright bestowal of land at marriage.

THE ADVENTURES OF A BELLA BELLA CREW

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One April, a few years after the establishment of white settlements on the coast, a party of Bella Bella set out in a single canoe to hunt sea-otters. Planning to be absent for several months, they carried with them considerable supplies of food and water, while their mat sail lessened the work of the paddlers. They reached their first destination, Goose Island, without difficulty, and then continued in a north-westerly direction towards a barren islet of hard sand where sea-otters were usually to be found. All went well until they were in sight of this, when they encountered *Xai·ut̓*, the steady north wind, against which they could make no headway. In spite of the efforts of the paddlers, the canoe was driven southward and westward, out of sight of land. Steady winds prevailed for months, preventing the crew from heading their craft east towards the shore; fortunately, they had ample supplies, though these finally began to run low. Rain kept them supplied with fresh water, and they were able to eke out their food with fish, which had to be eaten raw. It was the end of September before they saw land, a small, isolated island with moderately high hills and, more important, running water. They beached the canoe and tried to leap ashore, but long sitting in narrow quarters had so cramped them that they could only crawl. After they had rested and regained the use of their legs, the captain climbed to the top of a hill from which he could see the other side of the island where smoke was rising. The mariners paddled around, and found themselves near a settlement of people whose language was unknown to them. They resembled Indians, though their mouths were exceedingly small, and the wanderers could see that they were eating raw worms picked out from rotten salmon. The Bella Bella feared to land among these strangers, but some of the latter swam out and passed their hands in wonder along the sides of the foreign canoe. Their own craft were smaller and narrower than any used on the coast, and all were tied together in pairs to prevent tipping.

As the party was leaving the island, a strong west wind sprang up before which they made such headway that three days later they reached the mainland. None of the crew knew where they were, but they realized that their home must be far to the north, so they cautiously proceeded in that direction. The wind changed to the south, again assisting them, and they sailed on for four or five days until they were suddenly pursued by hostile canoes as they neared the point of what seemed to be a large

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*192
[426] *ā'xwēlum:* Excess of amount returned over that previously received as an investment present.
Āiamkikka: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Āiiāāxa: 1—Supernatural beings who drone as the sun moves.
2—Voice of the supernatural woman, *Snitxmān·a*; the term is occasionally applied to the being herself. The sound is produced by *kusiut* whistles.
Āimālotla: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Āimaltua: "The Coming of Foul Weather," in the language of supernatural beings: The phenomenon is semi-anthropomorphized.
Āimā·ti: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2—Ancient chief from whom the village is supposedly named.
Āiqwaiosamlaix: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
[821] *Āiqweiust:* Supernatural beings who blacken the face of the moon at eclipses.
Āiisamka: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of an *xtāmq* chief mentioned in an ancient story.
Āiutla: 1—One of the designations of *Kāmai·ti*, the mysterious supernatural woman.
2—Ferocious, awe-inspiring, *adjective.*
[526] *ā'kāxyu:* Swing consisting of two long ropes with cross-seat.
[824] *ākpādultnlx:* Spruce leaves.
Ākamtci: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
ālipotnam: Lehal.
Ālkālālis: 1—One of the first men to settle at Calvert Island in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwulst* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Āimā·ti* in the beginning of time.
ālkdjāles: Stake supporting olachen net.
[796] *ālkxpiānum:* Ritual repeated at intervals between the allotment of tasks for a potlatch, and the coming of a supernatural being to the first *shaak* initiate.
ālk"-, plural, wealk"ats: Herald.
Ālokānam: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
[533] *ālox:* Third part of song.
[517] *'ālox:* Pleasure expedition of boys and girls to the forest.
Ālox: Name of an isolated star.
[821] *Ālqoticos:* Supernatural man-eater, patron of Cannibals.
Ālqocalos: Stick decorated with abalone-shell used by one of the settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
Ālqwulus: Supernatural female berry-picker resident in the land of the dead.
āltaia: Announcer.
Āltukwlaksus: Bay of the Thousand Islands near Namu.
Ālusknaix: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
ālxotla: Cannibal.
[587] *ālxwolām:* Marriage with sister of a deceased wife; the word is undoubtedly connected with the verb, *to bequeath.*
Āmākwis: Supernatural creature similar to a human being.
Āmāla: Supernatural woman, wife of Cold Wind and mother of Ice.
Āmālāla: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
[425] *āmā·ipem:* The transference of a name, during the period of engagement, from the
[553] father of the future bridegroom to the father of the future bride.
[584]

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Ălălkmkmm: Supernatural being sent by *Smaun-a* to meet *Noakymm.*

ălalqe-xi, "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will certainly give a potlatch to start him on the path to social importance though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served ceremoniously at every feast. [556]

Ălhlxaw-i: Abalone-shell covered stick used by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

Alhlxaw-iatlhax: One of the first women to settle at *Tal-io* in the beginning of time.

ăldinnkl: Word of uncertain meaning often appended to *Inxămem* as complete term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance. [575]

ălikndxmm, "A Dragging Across" (as one does with a heavy log): The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being repurchased. [425] [553]

ălikwis: Toasted food of any kind. [262]

Ătlixwumax: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man. [252]

ălilq': Perforated, *adjective.*

ălimuxnăm: Those who perform to assist marriage dancers.

Ălimalwalaix: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Ăl-imdzaix: One of the first men to settle at *Tal-io* in the beginning of time. [585]

ălipaxtits, "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and hers prior to entering her house. [431]

ălipoalxm: Gifts given in secret, soon after betrothal, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride. [584]

ălipoilăm: Marshal.

Ăliqmăn-i: Immoral supernatural woman; synonym for *Sximsximult.*

Ălinmotsaix: One of the men who came to earth at Mount *Tsnisi* in the beginning of time.

Ăl-ilkoal: Totem-pole erected by the first settlers at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.

ahhhotl: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower. [516]

ahly: Sisaok song in fast time. [533]

ahl: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [535]

Ahl'gmaw-a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Sătlis* in the beginning of time.

ahmpus: Kusiut dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.

ahnkla: Synonym for *knumdjut;* one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the deceased. [556]

ahnlla: 1—Night-time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.

ahx: Come, *imperative singular.*

Ahxsa: 1—One of *Smaoan's* sons in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first women to settle at *Nuxwalst* in the beginning of time.

ahxl-ilaix: Central seat behind the fire.

ahkidjalos: Hammer with handle for pounding stakes for fish-nets. [412]

Ahkhumlshu: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola. [805]

ahkhothum: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun.

Ălhn-ipamm, "The Devourer of Meat Killed by Another": Term used by hunters to Wolf. [825]

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Ăĥo: *ɯtemy* village.

Ălko·sɨɬ, "He of the Tied-up Penis": Name given to a lad whose sex was disguised in infancy.

[426] *ălkstmaxdut:* Refusal to lend to an outsider a family prerogative such as the employment of marriage dancers.

[574] *ălkwuluinam:* Meal served when a chief's fellow villagers are called in, preparatory to an announcement of his coming potlatch.

Ălhusiyustem: Name of a female shaman.

Ălkwi, "The Opening of the Sky":
1—One of the first men to settle at Kimaquit in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of a *Snuîte·tl* chief.

Ălhĭbălxlaix: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Ălhĭhmnălosaix: One of the first men to settle at *Sĭskistl* in the beginning of time.

[575] *ălhmusnam:* *Susuk* having the ability to enter the back-room and treat initiates concealed there. The function probably antedates the employment of *kai·skskila*.

[583] *Ălhĭpaios:* Holders, supernatural beings who restrain supernatural Cannibals.

ălhixnim: Frenzied beating of sticks.

Ălmnmnăm: Wife of *Tsnalăltit*, the supernatural hunter.

Ălmnskitlnm: Supernatural calendrical experts.

Ălmoqtaikila: Husband of *Ăns'liktwolsaix*; he is known only in Kimaquit.

[575] *ălmutsămk:* *Kusiut* dance of mystery.

[574] *ălnaiwotsmm:* Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a mourning ceremony.

ălnaiwotsmmap: Call used by heralds when summoning to a mourning ceremony.

[425] [583] *ălnăxmlaix:* The "Dragging Across" of a name, crest, or other intangible prerogative from wife to husband either at marriage or later at a repurchasing of the wife.

[262] *ălnănm:* To drag a heavy burden.

ălnxlaw·ax: Cranberries mixed with olachen grease.

[821] *ălnuxsim:* Visit to his repository by a *kusiut* initiate.

Ălogsidimut, "Facing Both Ways": Second moon after the winter solstice.

ălolĭqsmmx, "The Actionless Time": Hushed assemblage of the *hukusiut* after departure of a Cannibal.

[597] *ălonkiokem:* Adoption of a person resembling the deceased to replace the latter.

Ălpălyulsslaix: 1—Supernatural being who revives mortals.
2—Name received by a shaman from this being.

ălps: Food.

[425] *ălpstmm*, "Food Supplies": The term applied to the giving of the use of land at marriage.

Ălqălăxl, "Stockaded": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

[756] *ălqănăs:* Shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in alternate strands.

[882] *ălqooik:* Guarded, term applied to a girl secluded at adolescence.

[825] *Ălqsnaiyun·a:* Supernatural name of olachen, applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time.

Ălqsxĭ'djut, "A Glance Downwards": Name given to an *Ălqălăxl* man in the beginning of time.

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nuheinuts: Synonym for *qomo·ts*, the large cone-shaped *sisaok* whistle.
[534] *Nuiya·ltl:* Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nuiya·ltul: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nuiyqtsiwun·a, "Nearest River": River flowing from the north into the northern corner of the head of North Bentinck Arm. The Anglicized form is Necleetsconney.
[103]
[823] *nu'uxqulaix:* Stone supernaturally born from another at sea level.
Nuwaiso·x: *xisemx* village.
Nuwaiwult, "The Mother of Dogs": Name given to a Bella Bella woman in an ancient story.
Nuyalk: Bella Coola valley.
[101] *Nuyalkmx:* Inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley.
Nuyem: *Kusiut* name of a *Sisaok* man.
Nuzem: Name of a female composer.
Nuyekmatlaix, "The Light Giver": One of the names of the supreme god.
nuyux: Light.
Nuzim: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Nuzimatlaix: *Q'aqa* name of a Kimsquit man.
Nuqmalmmân·a, "Stick-Breaker": Name taken by daughter of the first settlers at *Sisaok* in the beginning of time.
[825] *nuxtâwank:* Mountain goat with long hair on its chest.
nuxtimut, "The Silent Night": The hushed assemblage of *kukusiut* after departure of a Cannibal.
[227] *nuxtnuxtsta:* Cross-piece which holds open mouth of olachen net.
Nuxualat: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
[585] *nuxwaiaxkmm:* Public promise by the parents of bride and bridegroom on the wedding night that names will be provided for resultant children. This is
[425] combined with an oration of origin myths. The term is also used for a similar promise of rights to hunting grounds, although the granting of this is automatic.
[828] *Nuya:* Mountain near *Sisaok.*
nuyâlxikdmut: Person who wanders away from home in despondency.
Nuyal·alaix: One of the first women to settle at *Tal·io* in the beginning of time.
Nu'yaw·ixim: Land of salmon.

O

o'alyam: Kimsquit term for *a'alk, archaic.*
'O·ô': Kwatna lad mentioned in an ancient story.
[824] *okal:* Grass with edible roots growing on tide-flats.
[262] *Okhomâx:* Valley pre-empted by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Olâdimut: Herald who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
olx: 1—The *kusiut* prerogative of scratching.
2—Bad, *adjective.*
Olsâw·i: *Kusiut* name of a *Sisaok* man.
Olliyaiya, "The Worthless One": Name assumed by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[825] *Oluldmut,* "The One that Changes Itself": Supernatural name of spring salmon.
[264] *'omatslik':* Assemblage of the people for food of any kind.

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Sinuɣut: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

Sinuximāl: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Sūsux* repository derived from a supernatural creature.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sio°msta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative of imitating coitus. [424]

sipālɣālosuts: Song sung by a *kusiotem* dancer on recovery from apparent death. [861]

sipkim: Regular beatings given to a male child.

Siqālxam, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

Siqaluxnām: Rain after storm, anthropomorphized. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]

Siqulxwaix di Siut, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

siqwaldjut: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances. [626]

siqwsek: Outright bestowal of a prerogative at marriage. [425]

sisasts: Departure to a new locality.

sisi, vocative, sisai: Father's brother or mother's brother. [601]

sisut: Paddle.

sisutsta: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places. [501]

Sitkumsta: One of the names of the supreme god.

Sitkliuɣ': Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [778]

siut, vocative, siaot: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being, "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for *qomo·ts,* the large *sisaok* whistle.
4—Killer whale. [825]
5—Song.
6—*Kusiut* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Siutan·i: Part of a peculiar repository.

Siutamkila: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.

siutnālos: Wordless chorus. [533]

Siwal·as, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

Siwid: Celebrated *Djoldamx* chief living in the last century.

sixliktam: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a despondent person. [828]
2—Individual making such a journey. [484]

Sixman·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sixsān·imutsta: Place where healing power is petrified.

Sixsixɬutnam: Synonym for *Mūlakila,* the supernatural being connected with *sisaok* rites.

sixwisnaq: Kusiut dance or object used in the land above which serves as pattern or model, *ānānuskx,* for the user's protégé on earth.

sixwoɬaxmuk: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public announcement of a forthcoming marriage. [584]

sixwul: Unmarried mother. [848]

siyeutla: To perform the services of a herald to a master, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *sieutla* may be connected with this.

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[728] *yuhmax:* Peace ceremony.
Yuluhn: Bella Coola carpenter living in the last century.
yun·imut: Ceremonial error.
[534] *Yuntsūnl:* House of the first settlers at *Sūtlia* in the beginning of time.
yut·un: Rattle.
[425] *yut·umm:* The sending back of a name to the family of its original owners through a return marriage, or the proposal to do so, made by the relatives of the wife.
[589] *yutsalt; plural, yutsalt; vocative plural, yutsalt:* A woman who has attained an
[554] honourable position through being many times repurchased from her husband; virtually, a female chief.
Yuṭsqwikaiya: Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
Yuxuṭila: Kuziut name of a Kimsquit man.
yuxdimut: Fire-holder carried by Thunder.
[825] *yuxo'maitl:* Old, female sea-lion.
Yuṭṭhn: Ancestral name of a *Sinxl* man.
Yuxwomaitl: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Yulstimut: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[372] *yuhmta:* Sticks for making fire.
yuḥāls: Promontory.
yu'pāil: The actual appearance of a performer at an *a'alk* dance during a potlatch.
Yuḥwet: ɬstāmɣ village.
Yuyuhmpl: Stone on the shore of Dean Channel believed to have been a man a long time ago.
Yuyulk"mai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Ālqāltxl* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuhli* in the beginning of time.